

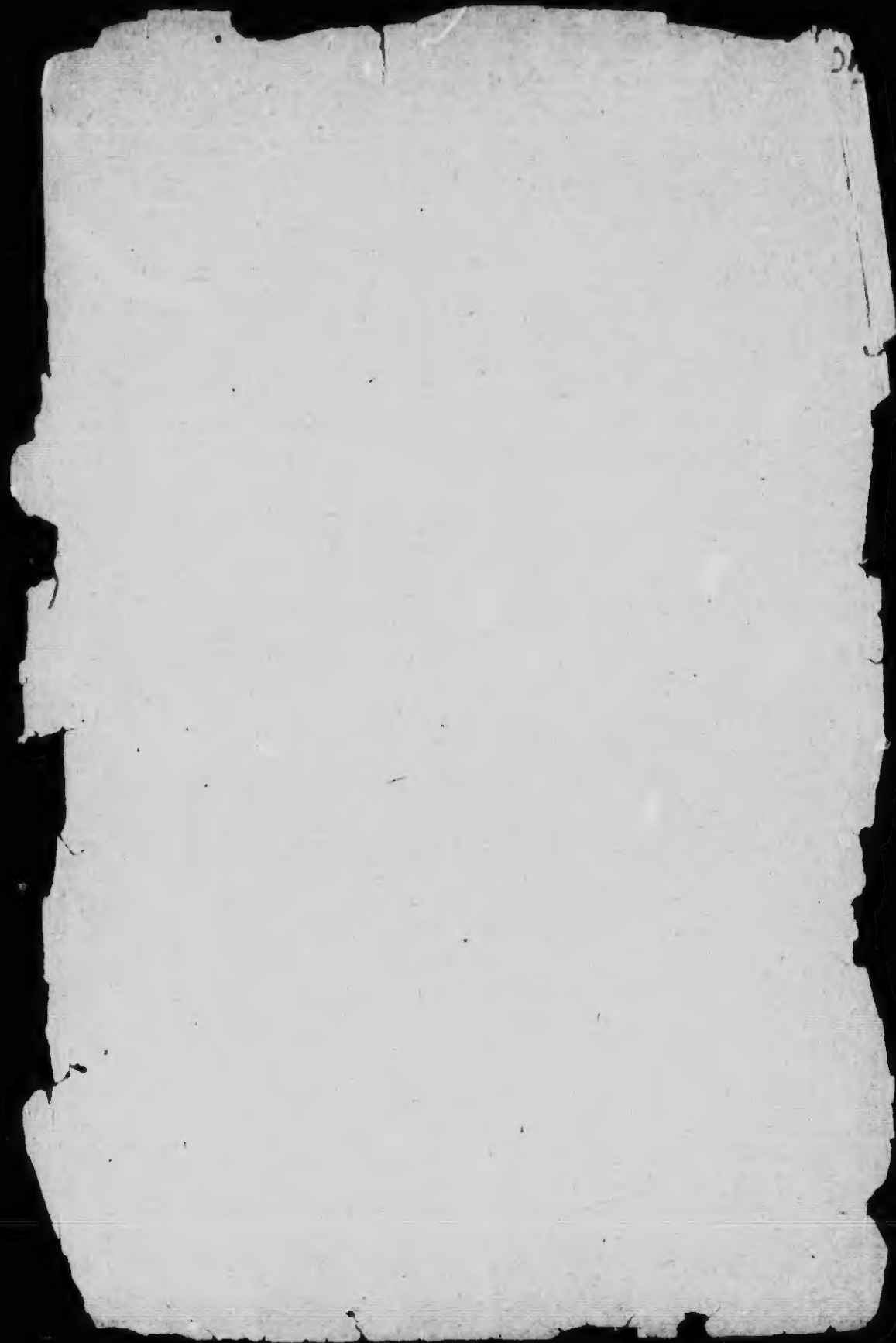
Dundonald's Indiscretions and Disobedience

Disregards the Civil Power—Transgresses the King's Regulations and Overrides Established Customs and Military Law—Opinions of Lords Salisbury and Lansdowne on Viscount Wolseley's Case—General Colville Rushed to Newspapers and Was Relieved of His Command at Gibraltar—The Game of The Quebec Blues (Tories) and Their Ontario Allies is to Appeal to Prejudice.

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Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Speech

In the House of Commons, June 24th, 1904,
as reported in Hansard.



Dundonald's Indiscretions and Disobedience.

Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier (Prime Minister). Mr. Speaker, the defence which we heard yesterday from the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) against the charges contained in the motion in your hands was so full, so complete and so masterly that there was no need for any of his friends to interfere in this debate. Nothing could be added to what had been said when he sat down. And, if I rise in this debate it is not at all to follow the line of argument that has been pursued; it is to call the attention of the House to the closing paragraph of the motion of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition (Mr. R. L. Borden). The words to which I wish to call attention are especially these:

The House regrets that this unwarrantable interference has been approved by the Government, and that it not only has unduly delayed the organisation of the regiment, but has culminated in depriving the Militia of Canada of an experienced and distinguished Commanding Officer.

"Has culminated in depriving the militia of Canada of an experienced and distinguished officer." Here is a statement which is not warranted by anything which has been proved to this House. The motion is an indictment against the Minister of Agriculture. The Minister of Agriculture joined issue upon it with his accusers. He has traversed it, in every particular; and I submit to the impartial judgment of those who heard him, that he has cleared himself completely of the accusations and insinuations brought against him. Even if the charges here asserted were true, there is no justification and no reason for saying that the action of the Minister of Agriculture, even if proven, was the cause why Canada has been deprived of the services of an experienced and distinguished commanding officer. For my hon. friend the Minister of Agriculture, in the speech which he delivered yesterday, showed conclusively to the House that nothing which he may have done was conducive to the retirement of the General Officer Commanding; he stated and proved, that for several weeks before, it had been the determination of Lord Dundonald to retire from the post which he has occupied for two years. My hon. friend gave the evidence, but I think it will not be amiss if I repeat, in one particular, the case which he made. I have here the statement delivered to the press by Lord Dundonald, which has been, not improperly, I think, characterized as a manifesto. Speaking, as he says, of the impediments put in his way by the Department of Militia, and of the many things done to mar his work, Lord Dundonald tells the people of Canada that he had come to the conclusion that he would sever his connection with the department. These are his words:

Dundonald Intended to Resign.

It seemed to me that the best way to help the militia of Canada was to let day-light into the working of the system.

I realized, moreover, that the new Militia Bill would soon be discussed in Parliament, and that it was my duty to give a warning of certain dangers before it was too late.

I might have lodged an official protest with the Government. I cannot see that this would have been of any avail. It would have been simply one more document in a pigeon hole.

A course offering many attractions was to resign and issue a public statement giving my reasons. So far as I personally was concerned it would have been by far the easier and more pleasant course. The objection was that, by so doing, I would give neither the Government nor the people of Canada any real opportunity to pass judgment upon the matter brought to their attention. My protest would have been made, it is true, but not in a manner that would have attracted attention to the evil.

It seemed better to make a public protest and to leave with the Government the option of heeding it, or of upholding the system which is destructive to the efficiency of the national defence.

I was in this frame of mind when Mr. Fisher's interference with the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons came to a head. It precipitated my resolution to speak out, no matter what the consequences.

I have quoted at length from the statement of Lord Dundonald simply to show that, whatever may have been done by my hon. friend the Minister of Agriculture, whether it was right or wrong, there was not the cause which eventually deprived Canada of the services of Lord Dundonald; this is an issue no longer to be fought out here. That may have been the occasion, but it was not the cause why Lord Dundonald took the course he did. If that be the fact, and it cannot be controverted, why is it, Sir, and I submit this to the judgment of the Canadian people, that these words have been imported into the motion of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition:

That the conduct of the Hon. Sydney Fisher, Minister of Agriculture, in interfering with the commanding officer of the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons . . . has culminated in depriving the militia of Canada of an experienced and distinguished commanding officer.

Sir, if there is any reason for the insertion of these words in this motion, words which are not founded on any fact whatever, that reason is palpably and solely to allow the followers of the hon. gentleman in the country to attack the Government for an act which they dare not challenge before the House. For the last two days we have heard the Government reviled, attacked and vilified for having taken the course which we felt compelled to take in regard to Lord Dundonald; and, Sir, if these gentlemen are sincere in their utterances; if they want to characterize the course of the Government, as they have characterized it in their speeches, if they have the courage to express the feelings of their heart instead of mouth-made indignation, how is it that they have not brought forward a vote of censure on the Government for having dismissed Lord Dundonald instead of moving this namby pamby resolution?

The leader of the Opposition concluded his speech yesterday with words of praise and encomium for Lord Dundonald. Let me say, at once, that I have not the slightest exception to take to the encomium and praise of Lord Dundonald as a soldier. Even at this moment, though I regret as much as any man can regret, the indiscretion which he has committed and which could only have one termination, I am happy to say that as a soldier and as a man I would join in everything that is said of him. But there is a cloud in every sky, and at this moment if the services of Lord Dundonald are lost to Canada, under circumstances painful to all, yet the necessity of which is challenged by none, it is not through the fault of the Government of Canada.

Civil Power and Civil Liberty Must Prevail.

Sir, if you read the history of the difficulties which culminated a few days ago by the painful obligation placed upon the advisers of the Crown of relieving Lord Dundonald from his command, and if you study these difficulties in the light of the speech he made in Montreal, in the light of the explanation given a few days ago by the Minister of Agriculture, in the light of the explanations given by the Minister of Militia, in the light of the statement placed in the hands of the hon. member for North Victoria (Mr. Sam. Hughes) by Lord Dundonald himself, you can come to but one conclusion; you will see in this but one more of the numerous contests for supremacy between the military power and the civil power which have taken place in England and in all British countries for many ages back. In England, Sir, and in all British countries, and indeed in all civilized countries, these contests have taken place, but with this difference, however, that in all countries except England and British possessions, this contest invariably terminated by the civil power being crushed by

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the military power; whereas in England and in British countries, countries that enjoy British laws, the contest was decided once for all in favor of the civil power and of civil liberty. But though this contest was decided more than 100 years ago, still it is now and then revived by the military power. It was revived, as I shall show later on, even in England two or three years ago, it has been going on in this country for many years. For, Sir, this is not the first difficulty of this nature that we have had in Canada, and even in other colonies; for example, in Australia they have the same trouble and the same contest that we have here. Sir, there is one thing in this matter that is very remarkable. Lord Dundonald is a good soldier I readily admit. But I call attention to the fact that the King's regulations for the British army in which Lord Dundonald served, and in which he acquired distinction and glory, expressly forbids:

Dundonald Did Not Follow the King's Regulations.

Deliberations or discussions by officers or soldiers with the object of conveying praise, censure, or any mark of approbation towards their superiors or any others in His Majesty's service.

The regulations of the militia of Canada, the command of which Lord Dundonald volunteered to assume two years ago, expressly declare:

It cannot be permitted that (officers) shall bring accusations against superior officers or comrades before the tribunal of public opinion, either by speech or letters inserted in any newspaper; such a proceeding would be in glaring violation of the rules of military discipline, and in contempt of authority.

Lord Dundonald apparently had a disagreement with his minister, and he chose to appeal, not to the proper authority, but to the very tribunal to which he was forbidden to go, to public opinion. The thing was so extraordinary that when the Minister of Militia saw in a newspaper of this city a report of the speech which Lord Dundonald had delivered in Montreal, he could hardly trust his own eyes. He wrote a letter to Lord Dundonald and asked him if the report was correct, and the answer came that the report was substantially correct. In Lord Dundonald's communication to the minister there was not a shadow of palliation, not a word of explanation, not an attempt at justification. The offence, therefore, was very glaring, and in face of such a breach of discipline, of such an act of insubordination, there was nothing for the Government to do but to take prompt and immediate action against the offender, and upon this action the Opposition have not dared to challenge the Government. There is something more extraordinary. Lord Dundonald tells us in the paper from which I have quoted that the action he was compelled to take was the only means he could take in order to serve the Canadian militia. Sir, it seems strange—to me, at all events, it is very strange—that the commander of the forces, the man who was placed by the Government at the head of the militia, should have chosen, as a means of serving the militia, to break the fundamental law upon which the militia force rests.

Dundonald's Manifesto.

Sir, there is no more essential law for any military organization than discipline. Without discipline, as Lord Dundonald knows even better than I do, no military organization can exist, and therefore, while I do not question the intentions of Lord Dundonald, it seems to me a singular mental process that he should have taken such a course as that in order, as he says, to benefit and serve the militia. But, Sir, if we go on further in the paper which Lord Dundonald has placed before the public, in the manifesto in which he says he

wants to relate to the Canadian people the differences between himself and the Government of Canada, we are bound to come to the conclusion that the true reason of the differences that he has had with the Department of Militia and Defence was simply that my hon. friend the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence would not be dominated. We thought at first, after the speech at Montreal, that the quarrel of Lord Dundonald was with my hon. friend the Minister of Agriculture, but we find by the paper which he has placed before the public, that his quarrel with him was only on the surface, that it was only a pretext, and that the real quarrel he had was with my hon. friend the Minister of Militia and Defence? What is the source of the difficulty he has had with my hon. friend the Minister of Militia and Defence? He says that he offered advice which was not accepted, that he made suggestions which were refused, that he made a report which was suppressed, and he says—in this I have no doubt he was quite earnest and quite sincere—that when he gave such advice, that when he made that report, and that when he offered those suggestions he had nothing in his mind but to serve the best interests of the militia of Canada. I have no doubt of that. I do not question the intentions of Lord Dundonald whatever. I am speaking of his actions. I have seen a little of Lord Dundonald and I am bound to say that I believe he is a man very much in earnest, and I would not presume to say anything which would impugn his honor or his intentions. But it must be admitted that a man imbued with the best intentions may not always be a safe guide or leader. This is not the first time that a man with the very best intentions has been led into a very wrong course, and if that gentleman gave my hon. friend the Minister of Militia advice which was refused, if he gave him suggestions which were not accepted, and if he made reports which were not thought advisable to publish, while I do not deny that his intentions were good, I believe equally that the intentions of my hon. friend the Minister of Militia were just as good as his own. What happened then was what very often happens. Upon every occasion of a disagreement between honorable men upon acts to be done, upon a policy to be followed, because one is in earnest it does not follow that the other is not as much in earnest, and because one is honest it does not follow that the other is not honest; but it follows that either one or the other is erring in judgment, that one is right and the other is wrong; and in a matter of this kind I would just as soon accept the judgment and intentions of my hon. friend the Minister of Militia as that of anybody else who may serve under him. My hon. friend the Minister of Militia and Defence has been eight years in office. I believe I am correct in this, although I speak under advice, that he has held that position longer than any one of his predecessors, and certainly whether he has held it as long or longer than any one of his predecessors, I think I am within the mark when I say that there is not one of his predecessors who has done as much for the militia as my hon. friend the Minister of Militia and Defence has.

How the G. O. C. Is Appointed.

There is an impression abroad that the General Officer Commanding holds his commission from the Imperial authorities, that he is the delegate of the War Office. Nothing of the kind. We know better in this House; but, sir, I think perhaps, it would not be amiss if I were to quote the law on this subject so as to dispel an impression which exists in many minds. Here is the law on this point and it shows that the General Officer Commanding the forces holds his commission from the Canadian Government. The Militia Act, section 37, says:

There shall be appointed an officer who holds the rank of colonel or rank superior thereto in Her Majesty's regular army, who shall be charged, under the orders of Her

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Majesty, with the military command and discipline of the militia, and who, while he holds such appointment, shall have the rank of major general in the militia, and shall be paid at the rate of four thousand dollars per annum in full of all pay and allowances.

Now let me quote the Order in Council which was passed appointing Lord Dundonald, and which is to be found on the first page of the papers brought down a few days ago:

On a memorandum dated May 17, 1902, from the Minister of Militia and Defence, stating that he duly received the Colonial Office telegram, dated May 12, 1902, stating that Major-General O'Grady Haly's retention in the command of the Canadian Militia, until July 19, next, was approved.

The minister recommends that Major-General, the Earl of Dundonald, C. V. O., C. B., who has been selected by the government, be appointed to the command of the Canadian militia, from July 20, 1902, with a salary of four thousand dollars a year, and allowances of two thousand dollars a year, as provided by the statutes.

Lord Dundonald was suggested to us by the Imperial authorities. That is a course which has always been followed. We have always taken the selection offered us by the Imperial authorities and in this case I am free to say that I felt glad of the selection of Lord Dundonald. Lord Dundonald has the honor of bearing a name which is not unknown in history. He bears a glorious name and one to which he himself has added much lustre by his own exertions. We thought that we would have a proper commander of the Canadian militia, and one under whom the militia would be only too proud to serve. But, everything did not go as smoothly as could have been hoped. What was the cause? Everything would have gone well and there would not have been any disturbance whatever, and we would not have been in the painful position in which we were of having had to exercise one of the most extreme powers at our command, if Lord Dundonald had been satisfied with being the adviser of my hon. friend the Minister of Militia and Defence, and if he had not always had something behind and had not always been looking beyond his office. This is the true and only cause, as far as I can see it, of the difficulties that have arisen between Lord Dundonald and my hon. friend the Minister of Militia and Defence. Lord Dundonald has told us more than once in the paper from which I quoted a moment ago that he had a policy. I want to know, Sir, what right has any commander of the forces to have a policy? Lord Wellington, the most illustrious soldier that ever was at the head of a British army, Lord Wellington, one of the greatest warriors that ever appeared in the world, Lord Wellington, perhaps the most successful general who ever fought at the head of an army, never had a policy so long as he was the commander of the forces. The only thing he had in mind, and his voluminous correspondence proves it, was to serve the government of which he was an official and a servant. Take the fourteen or fifteen volumes of his correspondence, peruse them page after page, and you will find that he always gave reports when he was asked for them, that he was most solicitous for the welfare of his soldiers, that he gave advice more than once, but whether his advice was heeded or refused, he did only one thing and that was to carry out the instructions which were given to him.

Dundonald Had no Right to Publish his Report.

But, Sir, Lord Dundonald tells us that he had a policy. He tells us likewise that he had no intention of forcing his policy on the cabinet. He tells us several times—he recurs again and again to the same idea—that he had no intention of imposing his views on the cabinet. He says:

In all my work I have endeavoured to keep steadily in view the nature of my post. I have not sought to impose my policy upon the minister or upon the cabinet.

Later on he says:

I had no desire to force my policy upon the ministry.

I do not question the sincerity of Lord Dundonald when he spoke thus, but when he tells us that he had no intention of imposing his views on the ministry, I say that to me there is evidence abundant in the paper which comes from his own pen that he misconceived his own mind in that regard, because Lord Dundonald tells us—and that is one of the grievances he has against the Minister of Militia, and one of the causes of difficulty that have led to this unfortunate conclusion—that he embodied his policy in his report and wanted it published. He had intended it, he says, "for publication." Again I ask, what right has the General Officer Commanding the militia to write a report for publication? And what right has he, and where shall we find that he has the power to write a report which he wants to have circulated in the press, debated on the platform, circulated all through the columns of publicity. Sir, the commander of the militia writes a report for his minister, and it is for his minister to decide whether that report is to be published or not to be published. But, Sir, I say this,—and this is a point at issue between the hon. gentleman opposite and us; they pretend on the other side, endorsing the policy of Lord Dundonald, that the Minister of Militia was bound to bring down the report which Lord Dundonald had intended for publication. I distinctly say: no; I take issue with them on this point. I will leave this point aside for the present, but will revert to it later on, and shall substantiate my views by authority. But, Sir, before I depart from the subject let me say that it is with me a grievance against the General Officer Commanding—and again I say I would not say a harsh word against him under the painful circumstances which are his, I would not do a thing of that kind—but I have to say that one grievance which I for one have against the late commander of the forces is that in every possible way he sought to bring his views, the views which he had placed before the minister and which had not been accepted by him, before the public and to raise the issue which is now in question between him and the Minister of Militia. Why, Sir, in a speech which was delivered by Lord Dundonald the first of April, 1908, he referred to his views. He said:

Though I have recommended certain steps which I think are necessary for the militia, I wish here emphatically to deny a falsehood current in certain papers, namely, that I was much annoyed that \$12,000,000 was not provided in this year's estimates for the militia for capital expenditure. If \$12,000,000 was provided at this moment I could not with the moderate proposals I made recommend its expenditure with advantage in a year. Such expenditure might well be spread over two or three years on that organisation.

Here you have the fact that although the Minister of Militia had not been willing to accept the report of Lord Dundonald, to make it the basis of his policy or to bring it before parliament, yet Lord Dundonald proceeded to give to the public what was, at all events, the generic idea which he had in his mind with regard to the policy he wanted followed.

What Are the G. O. C.'s Duties?

Let me leave this for a moment, although later I may return to it again. But I will ask a question here, and it is a question which I think is fair. What are the duties of the commander of the forces in Canada? Sir, I think I can answer that in an easy way. Everybody will agree with me that the duties of the commander of the forces ought to be and are analogous to the duties of the commander of the forces in Great Britain. Upon this point, to be absolutely sure, I quote to the House an authority which will not be questioned, that is

the authority of Todd on Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies. Speaking on our law, Todd says :

By an amendment of the law, passed in 1875, it is enacted that there shall be appointed to command the militia of the Dominion of Canada an officer holding the rank of colonel, or superior rank thereto in Her Majesty's regular army, who shall be charged, under the orders of Her Majesty, with the military command and discipline of the militia, and who, while holding such appointment, shall have the rank of major general in the militia. The duties of this officer are analogous to those performed in England by the Commander in Chief of the British army, and he is, in like manner, subordinate to the civil power, and subject to the direction of the Governor General through the Minister of Militia and Defence.

Now, Sir, it will follow in sequence that I should quote to the House what are the duties of the commander of the forces in Great Britain. I cite now from Todd Parliamentary Government in England. Vol. 2, page 747.

On February 21, 1888, the following Orders in Council were passed concerning the office of Commander in Chief, the financial secretary, and the other heads of the military and civil departments.

The Commander in Chief.

As it is expedient to define the duties of the Commander in Chief, or of any other officer who may hereafter from time to time be appointed to the chief command of Her Majesty's forces, Her Majesty in Council is pleased to order that—subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for War, and to his responsibility for the administration of the royal authority and prerogative in respect of the army—the said officer shall be charged with the command, discipline, distribution, military education, training, and efficiency of the officers, warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the regular and reserve forces and militia of the United Kingdom, and of the yeomanry and volunteer force of the United Kingdom when subject to military law or when assembled for training, exercise, inspection, or voluntary military duty; with enlisting men for, and discharging men from, the regular and auxiliary forces with the selection of fit and proper persons to be recommended to Her Majesty for appointment to commissions in the regular forces, and with the submission to Her Majesty of qualified persons recommended for appointment to commissions in the auxiliary forces; with the selection of fit and proper officers, whether of the regular or auxiliary forces, for promotion, for staff and other military appointments, and for military honours and rewards; with obtaining, holding and issuing to all branches of the regular and auxiliary forces, food, forage, fuel and light, clothing, arms, accoutrements, munitions of war, and all other stores necessary for the efficient performance of their duties, by such forces, of proper quality and pattern, and in proper quantities, according to the regulations governing the provision, custody, and issue of such supplies, and with exercising a strict control over the expenditure of such supplies; with the construction, maintenance, and custody of all fortifications, works, and buildings, and charge of all lands, belonging to the War Department, and with allotting quarters; with the provision and maintenance of horses and transports for the troops, and directing land and water transport; with the collection and record of strategical and other information, including topography, in relation to the military circumstances of this and other countries; with the preparation and maintenance of detailed plans for the mobilization of the regular and auxiliary forces; with preparing the estimates for all the above services; and with the duty of rendering such advice and assistance on military affairs as may be required of him by the Secretary of State for War—

To Give Advice When Required to do so.

I call the attention of the House to the concluding words :

—and with the duty of rendering such advice and assistance on military affairs as may be required of him.

Not as he may choose to offer himself but as may be required of him, and the difference between the duties which are imposed upon the commander of the forces in Great Britain, and the duties which are to be performed by Lord Dundonald according to his own conception was, that he was not to wait until he was asked to give advice, but he was to proffer advice to the Minister of

Militia, which the Minister of Militia was bound to to accept whether he approved of it or not. Let me go a point further.

I know—and it is heralded by the press which supports hon. gentlemen opposite—that a crime has been charged against my hon. friend the Minister of Militia—a grave offence has been put upon his shoulders—because he has refused to accept the advice of Lord Dundonald, and has refused to bring that advice before parliament. It was stated in the House yesterday, and I believe it has been repeated to-day, that it was the bounden duty of the Minister of Militia, as soon as he was given that report by Lord Dundonald, to bring it before parliament—that if he failed to do so, he failed to comply with the law of parliament. Sir, nothing could be more in contravention of the law of parliament than such a doctrine. I assert, Sir, as a principle of parliamentary law, that all reports which are sent to the government or to the head of any department by subordinates, unless they relate to mere questions of fact and routine and the every day transactions of the department—that all reports in which are implied questions of policy—are from their very nature confidential, and remain confidential until in the judgment of the minister they become the contrary. This is a broad statement to make, perhaps, but I make it on authority. I have already quoted Todd, who is acknowledged to be the best writer on this subject. Let me call the attention of hon. gentlemen to what he says on this point :

The system of laying upon the table of the House reports from officers addressed to particular departments of the executive government is most objectionable. And the House ought not to insist "upon the production of papers and correspondence which concerned the preparation and preliminary consideration of measures; they would thereby put a stop to that freedom of criticism which was always invited on such occasions, and which contributed so much to the perfection of public measures." If the House were to insist upon the production of such documents, instead of the government getting what we get now, confidential reports, containing the most minute details of the opinion of officers, given frankly and freely, for the heads of departments, we shall have a system of reports framed for laying upon the table of the House of Commons, and those will be accompanied by "confidential reports for the head of the department alone." There have been cases in which reports of a confidential character from officers of the government have been laid upon the table of the House, to prepare the public mind, and also that of Parliament, to consent to some large measure, or perhaps some considerable vote of public money; but, generally I think it is a course of which the House ought not to sanction.

Mr. Casgrain.—Will the right hon. gentleman say whether that is Todd in Canada?

Sir Wilfrid Laurier.—No, that is Todd in England. That is not simply the opinion of Todd. It is a series of quotations from speeches delivered in parliament by the great leaders who have brought the law of parliament from time to time up to its present perfection. The last quotation of all is from Mr. Disraeli, who says :

There have been cases in which reports of a confidential character from officers of the government have been laid upon the table of the House to prepare the public mind, and also that of parliament, to consent to some large measure, or perhaps some considerable vote of public money.

This would have been the case here. The report of Lord Dundonald, I understand, would have been a preparation for a large expenditure of public money; but Mr. Disraeli said :

But generally I think it is a course which the House ought not to sanction.

There is implied in this that such a report might be brought down at some time; but this is a matter of governmental responsibility, on which Parliament is to depend, unless there is a vote of censure. But the minister is absolutely

free to follow his own opinion in this respect, and not to follow the dictum of the gentleman who is appointed as his adviser.

The Case of Lord Wolseley.

I may be told that this is antiquated law. Well, there is something more recent than that, which I now give to the House. I have stated that though the question of supremacy as between the military and the civil power in England has been settled more than a hundred years ago, and settled in favor of the civil power, still every now and then there is an attempt made to revive the old rule and to bring back the military power in control. Not later than two years ago, there was at the head of the army in Great Britain a gentleman who has left a record dear to the hearts of Canadians—Lord Wolseley. He was the Commander in Chief; and strange to say—or perhaps I should say, natural to say—even such a soldier as Lord Wolseley, a man acknowledged to be prudent in his course and in his views, had a difference of opinion with the Secretary of State for War. He offered advice to the Secretary of State for War, and the Secretary of State for War, like my hon. friend the Minister of Militia, would not follow that advice. Then Lord Wolseley did what I think Lord Dundonald, if he had been better advised, should have done also; he placed his resignation in the hands of the Government. If Lord Dundonald had followed that course—and he says he had the idea in his mind—if, instead of taking the violent, the extreme, the unpardonable course of committing a breach of discipline, he had resigned, and placed his resignation on paper, he could have brought before Parliament everything he wanted to bring. It could not have been pigeon-holed, as he suggested, but it would have been brought before the House, and the House could have judged of it. Lord Wolseley took the better course of resigning, and some time afterwards on the floor of the House of Lords, he gave expression to his views. On the 4th of March, 1901, he addressed the House of Lords and criticised the administration of the War Office, and the nature of the relationship between the Commander in Chief and Secretary of State for War. Lord Lansdowne, who was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, replied in the House of Lords, and made use of the following language, which will be found in the Parliamentary Debates, 4th series, Vol. 90, page 356:

Lansdowne's and Salisbury's Views.

In another part of the statement of the noble Viscount, he told the House that he thought it was extremely necessary in the interests of public safety, that when the Commander in Chief and the Secretary of State for war were unable to agree, the public should be taken into our confidence, and that we should leave the public, as it were, to choose between the two.

I am afraid that that is somewhat a council of perfection. Does the noble and gallant Viscount think that the government of this country would be possible, that the administration of the War Office would be practicable, if, whenever the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-Chief were not at one, the arguments were to be publicly paraded and to form the subject of controversies in the press or on the platform. I cannot conceive a more fatal arrangement than that there should be disputes of this kind in the eye of the public. The noble and gallant Viscount is a great supporter of a very popular institution called the Military Tournament. I should be very sorry if the Secretary of State were obliged to take part in a military tournament of the kind which the noble and gallant Viscount suggests.

Now I pause and ask the attention of hon gentlemen opposite: Is not the language of Lord Lansdowne applicable, in every particular to the case we have in hand? If you substitute for Lord Wolseley, Lord Dundonald, and for the Secretary of State for War, the Canadian Minister of Militia, you have our case in every particular. The

following day the debate was participated in by Lord Salisbury, and I commend the language of Lord Salisbury as that of one who has always been noted for his conservative tendencies and strong, rugged common sense. This is what he said:

Army Must be Governed by Parliament, Governed by a Minister Responsible to Parliament.

It is said of a certain class of correspondent that the important observation always comes at the end. I think that applies to the speech of the noble and gallant Viscount. He told us, not as one of the main points on which he was insisting, but as something which occurred to him at the end, and which ought to be mentioned before he sat down, what was his solution of any difficulties that might arise if the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of State were not of the same mind. I think he puzzled the House. He said we were to take the people into our confidence, and to tell the press what we thought, and then the question at issue was to be discussed openly. How you were to decide which party was to be victorious, I do not know, but the result of the battle royal was to determine the particular decision on which the office was divided. I allude to this because I think it is a matter which is really at the bottom of our difficulty. I do not think the disputants, especially if they are military disputants, have entirely realized that the army is under parliament and that the minister who controls the army does it as one who is responsible to parliament and represents all the authority which parliament possesses. Unless you keep that steadily in mind, no doubt you will see many anomalies in our military system, and its relations to the civil power. But it is no use comparing our army with the army of France or of America, or of Germany or of Russia. They all differ in that one point, that the parliamentary system of governing the army does not exist among them. We must accommodate ourselves to the present state of things. Everybody knows historically how it has grown up, and everybody knows that it is intertwined too closely with all the fibres of our constitution to justify any one who forms his projects and bases his reasoning on the supposition that this relation can be modified. At the end we must have an army governed by parliament, governed by a minister who is responsible to parliament, and in any difference of opinion, whatever it may be, the Commander in Chief must be a subordinate of the Secretary of State.

Some Hon. Members—Hear, hear.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier (reading)—

Military men may not like that, but there it is. It is one of the bad rock circumstances of the situation, something from which you cannot depart; and you must devote your hands to making it work and it has worked in the main hitherto very well.

Yes, I think it has worked very well in England.

And take care that it produces in the future, as it has produced in the past, results which it would have been impossible to produce in any foreign country. I feel that this debate will be lost upon us unless we take care to guide ourselves by that chief and predominant principle. In speech after speech from military men, men who know the language and spirit of the War Office, it is easy to detect a desire that military problems shall only be solved by military men; but any attempt to take the opinion of the expert above the opinion of the politician must, in view of all the circumstances of our constitution, inevitably fail. It must not be supposed that in such contests the expert must win. In all these discussions there is an evident and growing desire to shake free of this necessity. I thought I traced it even in the peroration of the noble Earl, although I am sure he is too good and constitutional a statesman to entertain any idea that the existing system can be radically changed. That is where the shoe pinches—that the men who know, or who ought to know, namely, the experts, are not the men to decide the dispute in question; but the decision, if it accords with their views at all, must be brought about by the concession of the civilian and the politician.

Some Hon. Members—Hear, hear.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier.—If this doctrine had been asserted by me, without saying from whom it came, there would have been a howl from the other side. But this is the true constitutional doctrine. I was told this afternoon that I was a separatist, that my heart was not with British institutions. Sir, I am proud to say once more, as I have said many times that from my boyhood I have been a true adherent of British institutions.

Some Hon. Members.—Hear, hear.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier.—I say more, I claim that I understand—and in saying this I do not think I am boasting—British institutions far better than many hon. gentlemen on the other side who try to assail me.

Some Hon. Members.—Hear, hear.

Must Submit to the Civil Power.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier—When Viscount Wolseley had a difference with the War Office and wanted to bring that difference before parliament and the people, and allow the people to judge between the two, what did the War Office decide? It decided that Viscount Wolseley, illustrious general as he is, was subordinate to the civil power, and that if the views he submitted to the civil power were not acceptable, there was no help for it and he had to submit. Sir, we assert nothing else in this matter. But I will say more. My hon. friend the Minister of Militia, in his anxiety to do the best he could for the militia, went further than anybody in his position would have gone in England. He submitted last year to the Opposition a proposition both wise and patriotic. He stated to the Opposition that he had received a plan which he did not endorse, and which, in his opinion, it would be a grievous mistake to make public. But as perhaps there might be some good in it, he offered to hon. gentlemen opposite to have a committee formed, on which they would be represented, so that both sides might examine into this plan, but because there were things in it which it would not be wise to divulge to the world, the proceedings of that committee should not be made public, but be kept secret. This offer was not accepted last year, but nobody then made it a grievance against my hon. friend that he did not parade before the whole world not only our resources, but our weakness: well, and under the circumstances it seems to me that the position taken by the government to-day is absolutely unassailable. It also seems to me that the position taken by Lord Dundonald cannot be justified from the point of view of constitutional government. What Lord Dundonald wanted was to assert the supremacy of the military power over the civil; but, as my hon. friend the Minister of Militia said yesterday, so long at all events, as there is a Liberal Government in Canada, the civil power shall rule over the military.

Some Hon. Members.—Hear, hear.

Dundonald's Second-Hand Information.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier—Let me now pass to another subject which has been the proximate cause of all the difficulties between Lord Dundonald and the Minister of Militia. I refer to the recommendations which were sent to Council by the Department of Militia for the organization of the 18th Scottish Light Dragoons. On the 19th of May, Lord Dundonald signed a recommendation to Council. That recommendation came back from Council with a name erased by a member of the cabinet. This seems to have been in the eyes of Lord Dundonald a most grievous offence. I do not wish to say anything offensive; but, if I am to construe according to what seems to me the only sense possible, the speech which was delivered in Montreal some few days ago, Lord Dundonald regarded it as an offence that, he having put his pen to a document, anyone else should put his pen to that document afterwards; he having stated that such and such appointments should be made, those appointments should stand whether they were good or whether they were bad. Now, some time ago, I stated in the House that Lord Dundonald having so recently come to the

country and never having been in the eastern townships could not know the men he was recommending. I speak under correction; he may have known one or two, but I doubt if he knew any more. I doubt, if he knew, for instance, Dr. Pickel. When the recommendation came to Council from Lord Dundonald, it was known to every man in the Council that Lord Dundonald had taken his information second-hand, that he must have received from somebody recommendations as to these appointments. He tells us that he had got it from the gentlemen whom he had entrusted with the recruiting of the regiment. So far so good. But, if there was at the Council a gentleman who could say: I come from the part of the country where this regiment is to be recruited; I know the gentlemen whose names appear on the list, and I approve of all of them except one; this one, Dr. Pickel, in my estimation is not qualified for the position to which it is proposed to appoint him; he has never taken an interest in the militia and I assert that it is not right, it is not conducive to the best interest of the regiment and of the militia that this gentleman, who has no military qualification, should be put in such an important post as major:—if there were at the Council a gentleman able to speak such words with the authority of local knowledge, will any hon. gentleman on the other side say that it was an offence against the dignity of Lord Dundonald for the Council to be influenced by such representations? Will any hon. gentleman say that it was not, I will not say the right only, but the duty of that hon. gentleman to declare his honest convictions? Yet the head and front of the Minister of Agriculture's offending had this extent, no more.

Downward Career of Conservatives.

Sir, I will not go into the minute, petty question whether or not my hon. friend, the Minister of Agriculture, had the right to sign that document for the Minister of Militia. I see before me my hon. friend from South Lanark (Mr. Haggart); he is an old parliamentarian, and he knows that every day a colleague signs for a colleague and that the recommendation so signed goes before the Council and is dealt with by the Council. That ought to be a sufficient answer to such petty, miserable criticism. But, there is something more. Wonders will never cease,—the once proud Conservative party, in their downward career, have come to this—that yesterday we heard from one of the leaders of that party, my hon. friend from Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk) a declaration that the General Officer Commander should be given *carte blanche*. The General Officer Commanding is appointed by this Government and occupies a subordinate position. But, according to the hon. gentleman he should be given *carte blanche* and whatever he does should be accepted; the minister and the cabinet should be simply recording clerks of his will. And this is the policy of the once great Conservative party. My reading of his story has informed me—and no doubt my hon. friend from Victoria, N.S. (Hon. Wm. Ross), who is an old veteran in the cause of reform, has the recollection that there was a time in Canada when we had militia authorities to govern us. Those were the old times of the Family Compact, when the military authorities were surrounded by a crowd of sycophants and minions, who could dispose of the public domain for their own benefit and that of their favorites. I do not know how the new doctrine will strike the whole province of Ontario. But if the names of Brown and Mackenzie have not been erased from the memory of the people there, I can imagine how the Grits of Ontario will receive it. The hon. member for Jacques Cartier went even further. Having stated that we should give *carte blanche* to the General Officer Commanding, he went on to the conclusion, which was inevitable from his premises, that we had acted very wrongly in relieving Lord Dundonald of his

command. He went further still; he told us that the treatment which we had meted out to Lord Dundonald was harsh and cruel. How harsh and cruel? That it was painful to those who had to inflict it is undoubted; but if it could have been avoided, I confess I do not see how. We were told to-day that we might have done in the case of Lord Dundonald what was done in the case of Lord Charles Beresford. Certainly we might, if the cases had been alike. If, like Lord Charles Beresford, Lord Dundonald had apologized for his conduct, certainly we would have treated him as Lord Charles Beresford was treated. Lord Charles Beresford had written a letter which was published without his consent and he so declared. But Lord Dundonald went to Montreal for the very purpose of bringing on this scandal. Therefore, there was nothing to do but what we did. For our course we have abundance of authority in the mother country.

A Parallel Case—General Colville Relieved of Command.

Only two years ago, just after the conclusion of the South African war, General Colville had a disagreement with some of his brother officers. He was charged with not having done his full duty under certain circumstances in South Africa, and with having left a certain portion of the army in great distress, whereas, if he had been more active and determined he might have relieved it. The War Office took a lenient view of the accusations against General Colville. They did not dismiss him; they did not deprive him of his rank; they gave him a command in Gibraltar. But when General Colville had been given this new command, he made the great mistake of going before the public, of writing for publication in the press, commenting upon those who had brought the accusations against him. And what happened then? He was at once relieved of his command. The debate upon the subject is instructive. The War Office had taken a lenient view of General Colville's case. But when he sought to bring his complaint before the tribunal of public opinion, instead of laying it before the Commander-in-Chief, the measure of his offences was full. The matter was brought before parliament by Mr. Charles Douglas. I quote from the speech of that gentleman as reported in "Hansard," page 1251:

A very considerable prejudice had been created against General Colville by the fact that he had published in the newspapers a statement of his treatment by the War Office. He did not defend that action of General Colville's. It was most desirable and necessary that they should uphold and fortify the great traditions of army reticence. Sometimes it led to hardship, but it was essential to discipline, and more than ever necessary now in view of the extreme activity displayed by the newspapers. He did not defend General Colville's action, but hoped the House would allow him to submit one or two considerations in regard to it. In the first place reticence could not be all on one side. If their generals were never to take means of vindicating themselves publicly, then he ventured to think that a little reticence should be observed by the War Office.

When General Colville returned to this country the first thing he saw was a newspaper paragraph which was obviously inspired.

Now mark the answer which was made by Mr. Brodrick, Secretary of State for War.

The question is whether a public stigma would have been put upon General Colville. That is what I wished to avoid. After that General Colville's action cannot be defended by any one. He left for England. He did not avail himself of his right of appeal to the Commander-in-Chief. He made no representations to the War Office. He immediately published what he called a justification, but which consisted rather of an attack upon the staff officers in the Transvaal; and which also included, I regret to say, what appeared to be some ungenerous sneers against the cavalry whom he had found impossible to relieve. And

obviously it is impossible that officers, whether on the pay list or on the half pay list, should be allowed to make reflections on their superiors as General Colville did. He was placed on retired pay, and any officer who follows his example will necessarily share the same fate.

Military and Civil Law Must be Maintained.

Sir, it seems to me this is conclusive, and is the fullest justification that can be offered to the House of the painful course we had to take against so distinguished an officer as Lord Dundonald. I am free to say, even at this moment, after all the painful explanations we have had, after the indiscretions committed by Lord Dundonald, that for my part I look back with extreme regret upon the lack of judgment which has impelled Lord Dundonald so far to forget himself, so far to forget his position, so far to forget what was due to him and to his command, as to take the course he did. But law must be maintained, law exists for everybody, military law as well as civil law; and military law ought to be observed above all others by the general who is at the head of the militia. Further upon this point I have no more to say.

Use of the Words "Foreigner" and "Stranger."

Now I may be allowed perhaps to do what I very seldom do. I may be allowed to say a word about myself personally. Some days ago, speaking in this House, I made use of an expression which was not in my mind but which came to my lips. I corrected it immediately. The word which I had in my mind was the word "stranger" but I used another word. Sir, in my experience of many years I have never heard it called in question until to-day that a man may not be allowed an opportunity to correct a slip of the tongue. I have heard slips of the tongue more than once, I have heard one to-day, I heard one yesterday, some gentlemen using the words "Minister of Agriculture" when he wanted to say "Minister of Militia," another saying "Minister of Militia" when he wanted to say "Minister of Agriculture." These mistakes will occur. A man may want to speak of the city of Toronto, and may say the city of Montreal. But according the new code of ethics which I find on the other side of the House no man is to be allowed to correct any slip of that kind. Sir, I bow to this new law—which I hope, however, will never be the law on this side of the House, a law which we will never apply to the other side. I bow to it, but I wish to say to these gentlemen on the other side of the House whom I see before me and who call me to account for having had the misfortune, nay, not the misfortune, but the mere accident of slip of the tongue. I say to them: Let he who is without sin cast the first stone. Sir, I have been told that my meaning was contemplated, was offensive and insulting. I have been in this House for many years, I have seen some of the veterans of former combats pass away, I have been engaged in combats with some of them, I have fought a good many hard struggles, but I am not conscious in all the years of my life, in all the struggles in which I have been engaged with gentlemen on the other side of the House, I am not conscious that I ever deliberately used an offensive word towards any man or towards any class. I never sought a fight, but I was never afraid of a fight. Whenever I had to fight, I think it will be admitted by friend and foe that I always fought with fair weapons. I have been told to-day on the floor of this House twice that when I used the word "foreigner" there was in my heart a sinister motive, there was in my heart a feeling which found expression. Sir, I have only this to say. I disdain to make reply to such an insinuation. If sixty years of what I believe to be after all an honourable life, a life which has certainly been one of loyal devotion to British institutions, is not a sufficient answer to such an insinuation, I will not attempt to

make an answer. I have been told in the press, not in this House, that the word which I substituted, for the word I used, the word "stranger" which I substituted, was just as offensive and insulting as the other. Well, Sir, I do not pretend to be a master of the English language, but I do claim, without I think undue boasting, to have some knowledge of it. When I saw in the press that the word "stranger" which I had applied to Lord Dundonald was offensive and insulting, I must confess that I was surprised, and I proceeded to brush up my literature; I went to the sources, I went to the dictionary as the first source, I went to the best dictionary, the Standard, to find the definition of the word "stranger." Like many other words in the English language, like many other words in the French language, like many other words in the Latin language, and probably in all the languages, this word has more than one signification. Here they are:

Stranger. 1. One not an acquaintance; a person unknown; as, I was accosted by a stranger.

2. One not a member of the household; a visitor; guest; as, children should not talk when strangers are at the table. 3. A person coming from another country or a distant region; a foreigner; also, a person coming from another place, though in the same country; as, he had the air of a stranger; a stranger in a strange land. 4. One unacquainted or unfamiliar with something specified; one not versed or experienced; one mentally or spiritually remote; with to; as, he is a stranger to learning and culture. 5. Law. Any person who is neither a party to a transaction nor privy to it.

The Standard Dictionary quotes General Grant, speaking of his appointment to the Army of the Potomac in the spring of 1864, saying:

I was a stranger to most of the army of the Potomac; I might say to all except the officers of the regular army who have served in the Mexican war.

Very few researches brought to me an abundance of precedents. In the "Story of the Revolution," Henry Cabot Lodge, the author, speaking of a visit by Washington coming from Virginia to Massachusetts, says:

The people were evidently with him. They looked upon him as he rode down the lines and were content. The popular movement had found its leader and the popular instinct recognised him. Yet Washington came to the men of New England a "stranger."

But, I am accustomed to the loyalty of hon. gentlemen on the other side, of which we have had such evidence to-day. Perhaps they will not accept these American writers. Let us come back, then, to British authors, and if there is an opinion which ought to be apposite in a matter of this kind, since I am told that I have insulted my fellow countrymen of the Scottish race, let me quote from Sir Walter Scott. We find in his book, "The Pirate," that, speaking of a Mr. Mertoun, an Englishman who was visiting the Shetland Islands, he says:

No one asked him whence he came, where he was going, what was his purpose in visiting so remote a corner of the empire, or what was likely to be the term of his stay. He arrived a perfect stranger, yet was instantly overpowered by a succession of invitations.

But that is not all. Let us come nearer home. I have here in my hands the Life of Lord Lawrence, by Sir Richard Temple. In one of the chapters, Sir Richard Temple speaks of the difficulties of every new Viceroy sent from England to India. He says:

Usually a new Viceroy and Governor General is, on landing in India, really new in every sense. The European officers, the Native princes, chiefs and people, are strangers to him, as he is personally unknown to them.

Here we are very near home when we are in another portion of the British empire, but let us come to Canada itself. There have been commanding officers of the militia before Lord Dundonald. There was one in 1875. His name was Sir Selby Smith.

He wrote a report to the Minister of Militia of that day, which is to be found in a blue-book of 1875, and here it is :

Headquarters, Ottawa,
January, 1875.

The Hon. the Minister of Militia and Defence, &c., &c., &c.

Sir,—The Militia Reports which have been presented to parliament for several years past, have treated exhaustively the question of its organization and development.

It will therefore be my duty to confine myself to a few condensed remarks, as to the probable improvement of the Dominion forces.

I approach the subject with hesitation, having so recently arrived for the first time in Canada. I would hardly do so at all, but from the experience gained in my late journey through the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

To Nova Scotia and New Brunswick I am still a stranger.

The Quebec Blues (Tories) and Their Ontario Allies Appeal to Prejudice.

Now, Sir, it seems to me that my vindication ought to be complete, but I know that to-morrow and the day after to-morrow and every day and every week and every month, so long as there are some of those instincts which are now prevalent, in order to defeat a fair opponent, I shall be traduced before my fellow countrymen as having tried to malign and insult them.

Mr. Sproule.—Hear, hear.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier.—Yes, there is an echo.

Some Hon. Members.—Shame, shame.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier.—Let me say this to that hon. gentleman that I am familiar with these appeals to passion and prejudice. In my own province—

Mr. Sproule.—I want to tell the right hon. gentleman that I have never appealed to passion or prejudice—

Some Hon. Members.—Sit down.

Mr. Sproule.—to race or religion and I defy him or any man to say that I have done so, I do not care who he is.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier.—In my own province the allies of the hon. gentleman, those who fight with him, have traduced me for years as a traitor to my race and religion. But, the cry is getting stale and a new one has to be invented. I have no more fear of this one than I had of the other. My experience has convinced me, my experience has proved to me that in this good land of Canada, in all sections thereof, in all classes thereof, in all races thereof, in all creeds thereof, appeals to prejudice may create a flurry of excitement, but they will invariably end in producing nothing but contempt in the hearts and minds of an intelligent and honest people.

